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Current Opinion in Environmental Sustainability

Relational values in locally adaptive farmer-to-farmer extension:

3 how important?

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- 9 Short title: locally adaptive farmer-to-farmer extension

10 Highlights

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- Farmer-to-farmer extension prioritizes rural livelihoods over yield increase.
- Relevance, trust, and place attachment strengthen farmer-to-farmer extension.
 - Relational values support adaptive capacity of connected farming communities.
 - Strengthened relational values support the use of best-fit agricultural innovations.

Abstract

- 16 Values held in agricultural extension systems determine which extension goals can be reached.
- 17 Globally changing socio-ecological contexts require a paradigm shift in agricultural extension systems
- 18 from a top-down approach dominated by instrumental values to achieve the primary goal of
- 19 increasing yields, to a more site-specific relational and participatory approach that induces locally
- adaptive use of sustainable agricultural practices. A literature review was conducted to understand
- 21 how relational values in farmer-to-farmer extension align with participatory agricultural extension
- 22 systems. Relevance, trust, and place attachment are the main relational values expressed in farmer-
- 23 to-farmer extension where participatory processes incorporate farmers' livelihood outcomes in the
- transformational goals of agricultural extension. Recognizing and strengthening the relational values
- 25 in farmer-to-farmer extension, based on different contexts, will likely support the development of
- 26 locally adapted knowledge and innovations, and provides a basic rationale for building communication
- 27 strategies, co-learning, and supporting behavioural change of all agricultural extension actors.

Keywords:

29 Participation, relevance, trust, place attachment, livelihood systems, co-learning

Introduction

- 31 Agricultural extension is part of the social sub-system of the rural socio-ecological systems that shape
- 32 livelihoods and landscapes, deriving agroecosystem products and services [1]. Increasingly, these
- 33 services are understood to be both 'instrumental', helping people to achieve their goals, and
- 34 'relational', helping people to maintain harmony among social actors [2] and in the human-nature
- relationship [3,4]. Agricultural extension is a means to an end; as the goals are in flux or even in a crisis
- 36 [5], the means require adjustment [6]. Just as it was a few decades ago, successful agricultural
- 37 extension is still expected to contribute to food security issues at the national level with a high
- 38 emphasis on maximizing production [7]. Current shifting societal perspectives on what the public

sector expects as the direction of change for the agricultural sector and rural land use management imply changing roles for extension [8, 9] to be aligned with the emergence of a more decentralized, farmer-led, and market-driven extension system [10]. Moreover, there are many current opinions on desirable directions of change for farming and farmers in countries in all stages of economic development [11]. Priorities include closing yield gaps by increasing input use through improving soil health [12,13], or achieving principles of agroecology to mitigate climate change [14]. The changes have been discussed as transforming a subsistence based "Ag1.0" through stronger market integration, specialization, and homogenization with increased reliance on external inputs, to the prominence of digital technologies for "precision farming" labelled as "Ag4.0", part of the supply chain for a modern "Industry 4.0" [15,16].

Farmers have always talked to other farmers. Formalized and externally supported farmer-to-farmer extension is, however, relatively new. As a farmer-led low-cost participatory approach it is now commonly applied to achieve agricultural extension goals [17,18]. In this system the primary extension agent is a trained farmer who lives in the local community and understands its context and complements an externally driven pathway (Figure 1).

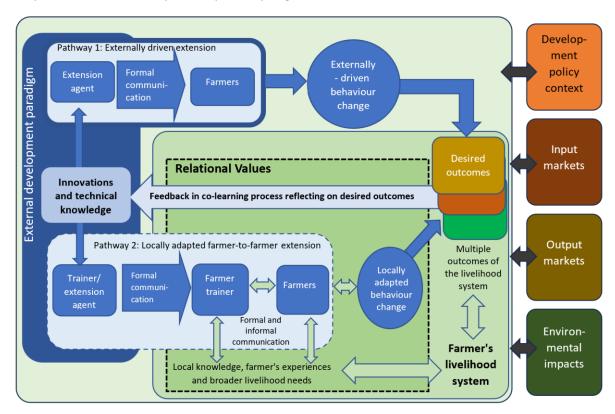


Figure 1. Relational values in locally adaptive farmer-to-farmer extension pathways

Knowledge transfer is most effective if three quality characteristics (credibility, salience, and legitimacy) are simultaneously present from the potential user perspective [19]. Innovation and technical knowledge are transferred to farmers through two pathways, (i) Pathway 1 is externally driven extension based on formal communication, with strong influence from the external development paradigm and/or input or output market interests; and (ii) Pathway 2 is the locally adapted farmer-to-farmer extension based on formal and informal communication with the inclusion of farmer's livelihood systems such as local knowledge, farmer's experiences and broader livelihood needs. Relational values connect the two pathways through the generation of innovation that considers farmers' feedback based on their desired outcomes.

This paper takes stock of recent studies on how the relational values of nature-people and people-people interactions can be used in farmer-to-farmer extension to support locally adaptive agricultural systems. This paper first describes how values held in the extension systems are influenced by the shift in societal expectations for rural landscapes under various contexts, as represented in transformational phases of agricultural development. It then explores what values are embedded in a participatory agricultural extension system and how these influence pathway two.

Values in the transformational phases of agricultural development

The non-linear changes in agricultural development (slowly at first, until positive feedback loops accelerate change) are characterized by 'tipping points' or transformational phases, where change becomes unstoppable. A recent characterization of four historical phases in the way people relate to forests [20], can be extended to a history of how the Human-Nature relationship (and the relational and instrumental values expressed) developed, with three tipping points in the transitions between the four phases (Table 1). The three tipping points in agricultural change that we focus on in the context of agricultural extension are: first ('Green revolution') a triumph of instrumental, science-based technical control over constraints posed by the natural context of human livelihoods, followed by recognition of environmental damage by unconstrained input use that stimulates smarter technologies as second tipping point ('Rational intensification'). The third tipping point (Regenerative agriculture', 21) can lead to a re-emergence of relational values of nature in wider society and change external expectations on how agriculture should function.

Table 1. Birds-eye view on three agricultural transitions (tipping points) between the four phases (I – IV) of an instrumental/relational value transition in (formerly) forested landscapes [20]

Transition	l. → II.	.→ .	III. → IV.
Aspect	"Green revolution"	"Rational intensification"	"Regenerative agriculture"
Societal goals	Food production (SDG2),	SDGs 1, 2, 8 + Water (SDG	SDGs 1,2,6,7,13,14,15 +
	Economic growth (SDG1,8)	6), Energy (SDG 7), Climate	Health (SDG3), Gender
		change (SDG 13), Life in	equality (SDG5), Reduced
			inequalities (SDG 10),
		15)	Responsible production and consumption (SDG 12)
Eco-technical	Technology to overcome	Ecological intensification,	(Urban) consumer invol-
	natural constraints:	reducing environmental	vement in opinions about
	combined use of high-yield	impacts while increasing	environmental impacts and
	germplasm, fertilizer,	land productivity; technical	footprints of the products
	pesticides; mechanization	approaches to precision	they use; rise of demand for
	to reduce labour	farming can increase	ecocertification
	dependence	efficiency.	
Economic	Stabilizing fluctuating	Privatization of agricultural	
	markets; creating condi-	extension increases role of	-
	tions for rural credit and	commercial input-	value chains bring a new
	financial investment,	providers, focus on	agenda to extension and
	through land ownership as	'winners'; value chains	new types of investment to
	collateral; farm	I —	rural landscapes; in
	specialization; import	and public policy	accessible landscapes,
	substitution while securing	interventions	local/international
	a positive trade balance by		ecotourism leads to
	exports		shifts from goods to
			services as basis of rural
			income

Socio-	Affordable domestic staple	Green growth and climate-	'Living wage' concerns in
economic	food supply; agrarian transformation, with rural labour shifting to urban/industrial jobs, land consolidation to 'viable'	_	tropical tree commodities
Cocial	farm sizes	NCO fundad autancian	Charific afforts are panded
Social	Little awareness of, and challenge to, gender bias in distribution of costs and benefits of intensification	emerges with social focus at prioritized locations	Specific efforts are needed to achieve gender and create opportunities for smallholders
Extension	Seen as public responsibility in agricul- ture	chains justify investment; NGO-funded projects also	Ecocertification intermediaries provide extension services, emphasizing farmer groups for scale

Across these three transformational phases, agricultural extension operates at the interface of connecting farmers to external knowledge and market-related networks [22]. Under the best circumstances, extension agents can become trusted sources of understanding, data and advice and assist decision-making [23]. By contrast, they can also be seen as largely irrelevant, representing government or private sector agendas rather than genuine local interests [24].

When the target in the green revolution transition was to support 'progressive' farmers, hungry for information on new technologies in agricultural production, the formally educated extension agents were adequately prepared for their job – although physical limitations on who they could reach with existing mobility budgets often restricted access to their services. When the second and third transformation targets shifted to poverty reduction, gender equity and social inclusion, and sustainable land use management, new skills and more efforts were needed to earn the trust of the target audiences and other extension agents [25]. More reliance on extension agents who lived in (or at least originated from) the local community in more locally adaptive extension strategies are expected to fill the gap, such as by connecting with farmers' organizations [26], and explicitly engaging youth [27] and other marginalized social entities in rural livelihoods [28,29]. The way farmer decision-making has been understood has shifted from purely economic (extended cost-benefit analysis) to more socially embedded in relationships, status, and power [30].

What values are embedded in a participatory agricultural extension system?

The term value can indicate high-level, non-tradable principles, exchange rates in negotiated trade-offs or a numerical equivalent on any scale of measurement. Values are critical motivators of behaviour and attitudes, linked to individual affection, social affiliation and expressed goals [31]. In agricultural extension, both instrumental and relational values are needed. Instrumental values are goal-oriented, relational ones are harmony-oriented. Their interaction across a wide range of cultural settings can according to 'Relational models theory' of Fiske [32] be described in terms of just four "relational models": communal sharing (every member of group has equal right to the shared resources), authority ranking (those of higher status or power are entitled to a larger share of the common resources), equality matching (various forms of in-kind reciprocity) and market pricing (one gets a proportion equivalent to what he/she pays). These inter-human relations can also include other-than-human parts of nature, e.g., in ecosystem management [33]. Relational values reflect the

qualities of the relationships, such as relevance, trust, care, social bonding, place attachment and spiritual meanings [34]. Relational values support the participating behaviour of people and promote their involvement in a socio-ecological system [35]. In supporting agricultural development, agricultural extension, aiming to be a trusted source of information [36], thus operates on the interface of instrumental and relational values.

Agricultural extension used to be (first column in Table 1) a main instrument for governments to 'modernize' a 'backward' agricultural sector, pushing intensification of land use based on agricultural inputs, facilitating access to credit, and assisting with the roll-out of government programs [16]. The goals for public agricultural extension systems, such as increasing food production and commodity supply, led to a focus on maximizing production by introducing innovations produced by research agencies which seek general applications, not constrained by the local contexts such as local knowledge, farmer's preferences and needs [18].

Not including farmers' perspectives in the development of knowledge and innovation may lead to farmers' low participation in agricultural extension due to irrelevant knowledge that does not match their needs [37]. Farmers' participation in extension services significantly influenced farmer satisfaction [38]. Participation is a process through which stakeholders collaboratively set objectives, create a strategy, and formulate tactics to achieve goals [37]. To get farmers to participate in societal goal achievement, extension agents may first have to participate in local communities. In the participatory approach, power dynamics influence the effectiveness of the engagement, the values of participants and the way knowledge is constructed and considered valid [39]. Understanding the relational values in participation can help develop an extension strategy based on farmers' needs or demand driven. The concept of demand-driven services is expected to develop extension strategies to be more responsive to the needs of all farmers, including women and other marginalized groups [40, 41]. Based on an analysis by the World Bank [30] on the generic issues in agricultural extension, applying a participatory extension approach mitigates most of the issues. Values embedded in the participatory extension are reflected in its principles [42, 43]:

- a) Oriented to farmer's needs, local resources, social systems, culture, and gender differences [Relevance];
- b) Two-way interaction of learning and communication between farmers with extension agents [*Trust*]
- c) Primary objective is farmers' welfare, that beyond increased production requires sustainability and competitive agribusiness [Relevance];
- Farmers become active partners in disseminating information and creating innovation [Trust];
- e) The intention is more on farmers' innovation adaptation than farmers' adoption of innovation [*Place attachment*].

Farmer Field School was found to strengthen the climate change adaptation behaviour of agribusiness champions, farmers, and supply chain actors at reduced training costs [44]. Farmer Field Schools remain functional, but the vision of agricultural development they promote can be undermined by simultaneous policies of the relevant ministry to support forms of contract farming where farmers have little freedom to innovate, as a recent study for Indonesia suggested [45]. Currently, Farmer Field

Farmer Field Schools are a popular format for participatory extension. When properly integrated, a

Schools have shifted from a focus on technology transfer to consultative or collaborative participation at the farm level, but the evaluation criteria have not shifted along, creating a challenge to the analysis of performance [46]. Thus, another form of participatory extension approach needs further

exploration, such as a farmer-to-farmer extension. Participatory extension models, including explicit social capital-building and social learning strategies, enhance the adoption of complex agricultural practices compared with traditional models [47].

Relational values in a locally adaptive farmer-to-farmer extension

A farmer-to-farmer extension system is a participatory approach that holds instrumental and relational values. Despite the high relevance of relational values, the importance of relational values in farmer-to-farmer extension is understudied. No references were found to relational values in the farmer-to-farmer extension in the Web of Science database.

Based on the studies, applying farmer-to-farmer extension provide benefits of (1) lower cost for disseminating simple technologies [18]; (2) farmer-to-farmer extension can assist the widespread of technologies [48,49,50]; (3) farmer-to-farmer extension can overcome language barriers that public extension agents often encounter (51, 52); and (4) farmer-to-farmer extension is effective to stimulate adoption of simple technologies such as planting native species [47,53]. In the past years, the farmer-to-farmer extension has been promoted to disseminate information and technologies related to site-specific or locally adaptive interventions, such as to enhance farmers' resilience to climate change [44,54,55], and to support the application of sustainable land management practices specific to agriculture, including crop residue integration, terracing, mulching, manuring, composting, legume intercropping, planting cover crops and agroforestry [13,56].

From the existing studies worldwide, factors that affect the effectiveness of farmer-to-farmer are related to the quality of farmer trainers, technological complexity and the communication mode between farmer trainees and farmer trainers and support from other extension services as sources of information [57,58, 59]. Another critical factor is the availability of local knowledge related to the introduced technology[60]. To assist adoption, the farmer-to-farmer extension must complement the other extension systems that link to government support and other non-government initiatives; extension is just one factor influencing farmers' adoption capacity [61].

Relational values are embedded in the farmer-to-farmer extension through the agent of change, i.e., farmer trainer. The farmer trainer, who originated from the same area as the farmers and understood the relevance of the extension goals with the local livelihood systems, received innovation from public extension agents and adjusted the innovation with the local knowledge and farmers' experiences and needs. Adjusting the innovation is important, particularly for implementing innovations such as climate-smart agriculture and sustainable land use management influenced by variations of local contexts; through its *relevance values*, farmer trainers can adjust the innovations to fit the local contexts. *Place attachment* between farmer trainers with their environment will also be able to adjust the innovations to the biophysical requirements when applied to a specific site. Interaction between farmer trainers and farmers is based on formal and informal communication. *Trust* is relatively easier to develop in the farmer-to-farmer extension, as farmer trainers and farmers have similar interests and motivations to improve agricultural practices [62]. On the other hand, farmers will need evidence-based trust when interacting with public extension agents. The extension agent needs to provide evidence that fits well with the expected benefits for the farmers. Trust is a key value that affects the learning process and participation in the farmer-to-farmer extension [63].

Conclusions and ways forward

Farmer-to-farmer extension as approach was developed based on what farmers have traditionally used to disseminate agricultural information and technologies. It is part of an agricultural extension paradigm that highlights site-specific strategies. This means that extension is evaluated not only as

instrumental to a change in what farmers do or know but also on how it helps farmers achieve and perceive more relevance to their local contexts (nature, community, markets, government) and challenges (blending tradition and innovation). Site-specific extension strategies demand inclusivity of local perspectives and engagement of the local actors, both the farmers and the extension agents, in shaping a participatory approach. The farmer-to-farmer extension can implicitly facilitate the inclusivity of local perspectives, where farmers, as extension agents, have embedded relational values. Inclusivity may become explicit when experienced farmers, as extension agents, help describe, articulate, and analyze such values. Relevance, trust, and place attachment are three critical relational values in the farmer-to-farmer extension. Without them, farmers and extension agents will have difficulty in defining the targeted goals for knowledge and innovations, communication, and learning processes that enable a site-specific extension strategy.

Balancing these strengths of farmer-to-farmer extension is the recognized challenge of weak interaction with external sources of knowledge and innovations. This challenges the external support for formalized farmer-to-farmer extension. While privatization of extension was welcomed by the agricultural input industry in the 'Green revolution' phase, markets for agricultural outputs that care about social and environmental aspects of production have a role to play in the 'Rational intensification' and 'Regenerative agriculture' phases. Further studies need to investigate how the relational values in farmer-to-farmer extension can be assessed and utilized to increase the connection between farmer-to-farmer extension and other reference groups as stakeholders of the choices farmers make in the landscape and its value chains.

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^{*} Progress in understanding social—ecological—economic systems at the practitioners—science—policy interface requires that both instrumental and relational values of nature are appreciated

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